

New Mexico: Ms. Dora Marroquin, State Facilitator; Representative Rick Miera, New Mexico House of Representatives; Ms. Virginia Trujillo, State of New Mexico Office of the Governor; Dr. Joseph Stewart, Professor, University of New Mexico.

New York: Professor Stephen Schechter, State Facilitator; Ms. Rita Lashway, Deputy Executive Director, New York State School Boards Association; Mr. A. Thomas Levin, President, New York State Bar Association; Ms. Gail Kelly, President, New York Council of Educational Associations.

North Carolina: Ms. Debra Henzey, State Facilitator; Senator Joe Sam Queen, North Carolina Senate; Representative Linda Johnston, North Carolina House of Representatives; Ms. Maria Theresa Unger Palmer, Member North Carolina Board of Education; Ms. Susan Giamportone, North Carolina Bar Association; Ms. Tracey Greggs, Department of Public Instruction Social Studies Section; Ms. Carol Vogler, Career Center High School, Past Pres. Carolina Council for the Social Studies.

North Dakota: Mr. Phil Harmeson, Co-State Facilitator; Senator Ray Holmberg, Co-State Facilitator; Representative Dennis Johnson, North Dakota House of Representatives; Honorable Wayne Stenehjem, Attorney General, State of North Dakota; Honorable Mary Maring, Justice North Dakota Supreme Court.

Ohio: Mr. Jared Reitz, State Facilitator; Representative Dixie Allen, Ohio House of Representatives; Dr. Donald Stenta, Associate Director, the John Glenn Institute; Mrs. Patricia Allen Day, Roosevelt Center, Dayton Public Schools; Ms. Linda Petz, Stark Educational Service Center; Mr. Frank Underwood, Assistant Director, Ohio Community Service Council.

Oklahoma: Mr. Michael Reggio, State Facilitator; Representative Bill Nations, Oklahoma House; Ms. Lisa Pryor, Learn & Serve Coordinator State Dept. of Education; Ms. Gina Wekke, Sr. Coordinator, Oklahoma Regents for Higher Education; Ms. Denise Rhodes, Oklahoma Council for the Social Studies; Ms. Lyndal Caddell, Noble Middle School.

Oregon: Ms. Barbara Rost, State Facilitator; Senator Ryan Deckert, Oregon State Senate; Representative Pat Farr, Oregon House of Representatives; Mr. James Sager, Educational Policy Advisor, Office of the Governor; Mr. Pat Burk, Associate Superintendent Federal Programs, Department of Education.

Pennsylvania: Ms. Frances J. Warren, State Facilitator; Representative Jess Stairs, Pennsylvania House of Representatives; Mr. Albert Cunningham, Superintendent, Montoursville Area School District; Mr. James Wetzler, Social Studies Coordinator, Pennsylvania Department of Education.

Rhode Island: Mr. Michael Trofi, State Facilitator; Honorable Matt Brown, Secretary of State of Rhode Island; Senator Hanna Gallo, Rhode Island State Senate; Representative Susan Story, Rhode Island House of Representatives; Ms. Maria Escudero, Office of the Secretary of State; Mr. James Parisi, Field Representative, RI Federation of Teachers & Health Professionals.

South Carolina: Mr. Paul Horne, State Facilitator, Invited; Senator Warren Giese, South Carolina State Senate; Representative Robert Walker, South Carolina House; Dr. Harriett L. Rucker, State School Board; Mr. James Bryan, Education Associate, Department of Education.

South Dakota: Dr. Jack Lyons, State Facilitator; Senator Drue Vitter Lange, South Dakota House of Representatives; Ms. Glenna Foubert, President South Dakota School Board.

Tennessee: Ms. Janis Kyser, State Facilitator; Senator Randy McNally, Tennessee State Senate; Representative Beth Harwell, Tennessee House of Representatives; Representative Joe Towns, Jr., Tennessee House of Representatives; Mr. Richard Ray, Chairman State School Board; Mr. Bruce Opie, Legislative Liaison, Department of Education; Dr. Ashley Smith Jr., President Tennessee Middle School Association.

Texas: Mrs. Jan Miller, State Facilitator; Judge Royal Furgeson, U.S. District Court Judge, Western District of Texas; Mr. George Rislov, Director of Social Studies, Texas Education Agency; Mr. Hugh Akin, Executive Director, Hatton W. Sumner Foundation; Ms. Carlen Floyd, State Board for Teacher Certification; Ms. Patricia Ann Hardy, Member State Board of Education.

Utah: Ms. Kathy Dryer, State Facilitator; Chief Justice Christine M. Durham, Utah Supreme Court; Senator Howard A. Stephenson, Utah State Senate; Representative LaVar Christensen, Utah House of Representatives; Ms. Janet Canon, Vice President, State Board of Education.

Vermont: Vee Gordon State Facilitator; Senator Matt Dunne, Vermont State Senate; Representative Malcolm Severance, Vermont House; Mr. Patrick Burke, Principal South Burlington High School.

Virginia: Mr. Andrew Washburn, State Facilitator, Delegate James Dillard, Virginia House of Delegates; Ms. Susan Genovese, Vice President, Virginia Board of Education; Dr. Patricia Wright, Assistant State Superintendent of Education.

Washington: Mrs. Kathy Hand, State Facilitator, Dr. Terry Bergeson, State Superintendent of Public Instruction; Senator Steve Johnson, Washington State Senate; Representative Dave Quall, Washington House of Representatives, Representative David Upthegrove, Washington House of Representatives; Mr. Steve Mullin, Vice President, Washington State Roundtable.

West Virginia: Mrs. Priscilla Haden, State Facilitator, Member, State Board of Education; Delegate Ray Canterbury, West Virginia House of Delegates; Dr. David Stewart, State Superintendent, West Virginia Department of Education; Mr. William Raglin, President, West Virginia School Boards Association; Ms. Sharon Flack, Social Studies Supervisor, State Department of Education.

Wisconsin: Ms. Dee Runaas, State Facilitator; Honorable Elizabeth A. Burmaster, Superintendent of Public Instruction; Senator Robert Jauch, Wisconsin State Senate; Representative Luther S. Olsen, Wisconsin House of Representatives; Mr. Richard Grobschmidt, Assistant State Superintendent of Education; Ms. Kori Oberle, Wisconsin Educational Communications Board.

Wyoming: Mr. Matt Strannigan, State Facilitator; Senator Mike Massie, Wyoming State Senate; Representative Rosie Berger, Wyoming House of Representatives; Ms. Sheri Tavegie, State Department of Education.

#### U.S. POLICY IN IRAQ

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I would like to share with my colleagues the recent remarks of our former colleague Senator Max Cleland concerning U.S. policy in Iraq.

This is a passionate, powerful speech by a true American hero whose tremendous service to, and personal sacrifice for, this country should make of all of us mindful of his cautions and warnings. I ask unanimous consent that former Senator Cleland's speech be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[DSCC Iraq Policy Forum, Washington, DC, Sept. 15, 2003]

#### DISASTER IN THE DESERT

(Former Senator Max Cleland, D-Georgia)

"The public had been led into a trap from which it will be hard to escape with dignity and honor. They have been tricked into it by a steady withholding of information," he said. "The Baghdad communiques are belated, insincere, incomplete. Things have been far worse than we have been told, our administration more bloody and inefficient than the public knows. He added: "We are today not far from a disaster"—T.E. Lawrence The Sunday Times of London August 22, 1920.

Let me see if I can get this straight.

The President of the United States decides to go to war against a nation led by a brutal dictator supported by one party rule. That dictator has made war on his neighbors. The President decides this is a threat to the United States. In his campaign for President he gives no indication of wanting to go to war. In fact, he decries the over-extension of American military might and says other nations must do more. However, unannounced to the American public, the President's own Pentagon advisors have already cooked up a plan to go to war. All they are looking for is an excuse.

An element of the U.S. military is under attack. The President, his Secretary of Defense and his advisors sell the idea to Congress and the American people that it is time to go to war. Based on faulty intelligence, cherry-picked information is fed to Congress and the American people. The President goes on national television to explain the case for war, using as part of the rationale for the war an incident that never happened. The Congress buys the bait hook, line and sinker and passes a resolution giving the President the authority to use "all necessary means" to prosecute the war.

The war is started with an air and ground attack. Initially there is optimism. The President says we are winning. The cocky, self-assured Secretary of Defense says we are winning. As a matter of fact, the Secretary of Defense promises the troops will be home soon.

However, the truth on the ground that the soldiers face in the war is different than the political policy that sent them there. They face increased opposition from a determined enemy. They are surprised by terrorist attacks, suicide bombers, village assassinations, increasing casualties and growing anti-American sentiment. They find themselves bogged down in a guerrilla land war, unable to move forward and unable to disengage because there are no allies in the war to turn the war over to. There is no plan B. There is no exit strategy. Military morale declines. The President's popularity sinks and the American people are increasingly frustrated by the cost of blood and treasure poured into a never-ending war.

Sound familiar? It does to me!

The President was Lyndon Johnson.

Got Ya!

The cocky, self-assured Secretary of Defense was Robert McNamara.

Got ya again!

The Congressional resolution was the Gulf of Tonkin resolution.

You are catching on!

The war was the war that me, John Kerry, Chuck Hagel, John McCain and three and-a-half million other Americans of our generation were caught up in. It was the scene of America's longest war. It was also the locale

of the most frustrating outcome of any war this nation has ever fought.

Unfortunately, the people who drove the engine to get into the war in Iraq never served in Vietnam.

Not the President.

Not the Vice-President.

Not the Secretary of Defense.

Not the Deputy Secretary of Defense.

Too bad. They could have learned some lessons.

First, they could have learned not to underestimate the enemy. The enemy always has one option you cannot control. He always has the option to die. This is especially true if you are dealing with true believers and guerrillas fighting for their version of reality—whether political or religious. They are what Tom Friedman of the New York Times calls the “non-deterables.” If those non-deterables are already home in their country, they will be able to wait you out until you go home.

Second, if the enemy adopts a ‘hit and run’ strategy designed to inflict maximum casualties on you, you may win every battle but the battles you fight (as Walter Lippman once said about the Vietnam War.) can’t win the war.

Third, if you adopt a strategy of not just preemptive strike but also preemptive war you own the aftermath. You better plan for it. You better have an exit strategy because you cannot stay there indefinitely unless you make it the 51st state. If you do stay an extended period of time, you then become an occupier, not a liberator. That feeds the enemy against you.

Fourth, if you adopt the strategy of preemptive war, your intelligence must be not just “darn good,” as the President has said, it must be “bullet proof,” as Secretary Rumsfeld claimed the administration had against Saddam Hussein. Anything short of that saps credibility.

Fifth, if you want to know what is really going on in the war, ask the troops on the ground, not the policy makers in Washington. The “ground truth,” as the soldiers call it, is always more accurate than the truth expounded through the mouths of those who plan the war and have a political, personal and emotional investment in their policy. They will bend any fact, even intelligence, to their own ends. If the ground truth and the policy truth begin to diverge, “Shock and Awe” will turn into what one officer in Iraq has described as, “Shock and Awe S !”

Sixth, in a democracy instead of truth being the first casualty in war, it should be the first cause of war. It is the only way the Congress and the American people can cope with getting through it. As credibility is strained, support for the war and support for the troops goes downhill. Continued loss of credibility drains troop morale, the media becomes more suspicious, the public becomes more incredulous and the Congress is reduced to hearings and investigations.

Instead of learning the lessons of Vietnam, where all of the above happened, the President, the Vice-President, the Secretary of Defense and the Deputy Secretary of Defense have gotten this country into a disaster in the desert. They attacked a country that had not attacked us. They did so on intelligence that was faulty, misrepresented and highly questionable. A key piece of that intelligence was an out-right lie which the White House put into the President’s State of the Union speech. These officials have over-extended the American military, including the Guard and the Reserve and expanded the United States Army to the breaking point. A quarter of a million troops are committed to the Iraq war theater, most bogged down in Baghdad. Morale is declining and casualties

continue to increase. In addition to the human cost, the funding of the war costs a billion dollars a week, adding to the additional burden of an already depressed economy.

The President has declared “major combat over” and sent a message to every terrorist, “Bring them on.” As a result, he has lost more people in his war than his father did in his and there is no end in site.

Military commanders are left with extended tours of duty for servicemen and women, told long ago they were going home, and keeping American forces on the ground where they have become sitting ducks in a shooting gallery for every terrorist group in the Middle East.

Welcome to Vietnam, Mr. President. Sorry you didn’t go when you had the chance.

#### HONORING OUR ARMED FORCES

Mr. JEFFORDS. Mr. President, on Friday, September 19, 2003, Vermonters will gather in Proctor, VT, for a happy, yet solemn occasion. They will assemble on that day to reopen Proctor’s Marble Arch Bridge and to dedicate a memorial to SGT Justin Garvey, United States Army, 101st Airborne Division.

The joy will be in the celebration of the new bridge, a centerpiece of Proctor’s infrastructure. It is the town’s only bridge to span Vermont’s longest river, the Otter Creek. Originally constructed in 1915, the new bridge will re-establish an historic gateway between the east and west of Justin’s home community.

Proctor’s Marble Arch Bridge, adorned with Highland Marble quarried from beneath Vermont’s grand mountains, is an elegant example of artistry, craftsmanship and heritage, values that we Vermonters cherish and respect.

SGT Justin Garvey, Proctor High School Class of 1998, exemplified these values as well. Justin was, by all accounts, an outstanding young man. He was known as a strong competitor, a motivated student, and an avid outdoorsman. His friends knew him as being good hearted and good humored. Justin was a loyal brother, a dedicated son and a loving husband.

Justin Garvey loved and is loved by his family and community.

He crossed the Marble Arch Bridge innumerable times. When he last crossed this bridge, he was on a journey that would take him to serve in the United States Army 101st Airborne Division, one of America’s most elite defense forces.

Not every soldier has the “stuff” to make the 101st Airborne. But it was no surprise to those who knew him that Justin Garvey studied and trained and worked to become a top-notch soldier. A fellow soldier wrote that “He was a man who had no enemies . . . he is everything I want to be as a man. Everyone who ever met Justin was better for it. It was an honor to have served with him up to the end, that night. He taught me what a true hero is.”

From before its inception and throughout its history, America has

depended upon the willingness of men like Justin Garvey to put themselves in harm’s way for the sake of country and countrymen.

Indeed, this Nation has survived only because of such men and such women.

When Justin Garvey last crossed Proctor’s historic Marble Arch Bridge, he was already a hero to his family and friends in this community. Today, all of Vermont and all of America recognize Justin Garvey as an American hero.

Indeed, the world is in his debt.

It is fitting and proper that we should dedicate a memorial to SGT Justin Garvey, Proctor native, American hero.

May God Bless Justin and his family.

#### IN REMEMBRANCE OF THE VICTIMS OF THE KATYN FOREST MASSACRE

Mr. CORZINE. Mr. President, I rise today to honor the memory of the victims of the Katyn Forest Massacre in 1940. Katyn Forest is a quiet wooded area near the Gneizdovo village, a short distance from Smolensk in Russia. It was at this site, on Soviet leader Joseph Stalin’s orders, that the Soviet NKVD shot and buried more than 4,000 Polish service personnel that had been taken prisoner when the Soviet Union invaded Poland in September 1939. Most of these victims were Polish army reservists—lawyers, doctors, scientists and businessmen, Poland’s elite and intelligentsia—who were called up to active service following the Nazi invasion of Poland.

On September 17, 1939, under the terms of a secret Moscow-Berlin treaty, forces of the Soviet Union invaded Poland through its eastern border. Polish troops, overwhelmed by the German invasion on its western border, surrendered to the Red Army on the pretense they would be protected. More than 15,000 Polish soldiers and civilians were sent to prison camps at Kozielsk, Starobielska and Ostashkov in the Soviet Union.

In an effort to eliminate potential threats to Soviet control of Poland and what Stalin described as counter-revolutionary espionage and resistance organizations, Soviet troops, carried out what many have called one of the most heinous war crimes in history. Prisoners in all three Soviet Camps were executed and buried in mass graves. One of these graves was discovered in Katyn Forest, where between four and five thousand Polish bodies were found. There were no trials; there was no justice for these innocent victims.

Although the Soviet Government originally denied their role in this unspeakable atrocity, on February 19, 1989 Soviet scholars released documents that revealed that Stalin had indeed ordered the mass execution. The following year Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev apologized to the Polish people for the killings. While this admission of guilt provided some closure, it certainly does not erase the